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Andrew Rothstein
Guns or Butter?

Albert Booth MP
Employment Protection Bill

Joan Maynard MP
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The 1975 TUC

Gordon Schaffer/Helsinki : Nina Pando/Chile
Doreen Haylock/IWY : Prof Burhop/An Appeal

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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GUNS OR BUTTER?

Andrew Rothstein

ONCE again the Trades Union Congress this year is faced with that ancient question: imperialist or socialist policy? It is a question no less pressing for being raised by the policy of a Labour government in Britain, instead of by a fascist government in Germany as forty years ago. In its broadest sense, it is the fundamental problem underlying the debates which are scheduled to take place at Blackpool, both around the resolutions on the so-called 'social contract' (analysed by our authoritative contributor, John R. Foster, in this issue) and around the debate which has swiftly arisen in recent weeks on the '£6 a week ceiling' on wage increases. For both these discussions bring socialists back to the problems of: *Why* the inflation? *Why* the income policies? *Why* the 'social contract'? Just under 110 years ago, in September 1866, the General Council of the International Working Men's Association—representing the leading British trade unionists of the day—submitted to the first (Geneva) Congress of the Association a statement drafted by Marx on the functions of trade unions, which the Congress adopted. It included the following:

> Trades' unions originally sprang up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition (amongst themselves), in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of trades' unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediencies for the obstruction of the incessant encroachment of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labour. This activity of the trades' unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalised by the formation and the combination of trades' unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the trades' unions were forming *centres of organisation* of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the trades' unions are required for the guerrilla fights between capital and labour, they are still more important as *organised agencies for superseding the very system of wages labour and capital rule.*

The present system of production remains that by which capital rules. Under it the working class, whatever its achievements since Marx's day, is still subjected to incessant encroachments by capital. Trade unions today consequently still have to carry on guerrilla—and not only guerrilla—fights against capital. That applies to the

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age of state monopoly capitalism no less than it did to the preceding age. And at every turn the workers are still faced with the need to supersede capitalism itself—the only difference being that in 1975, unlike 1866, the organised working class has the experience, the knowledge and the means to end capitalism and establish a socialist system.

Causes of Inflation

What has led to the present acute stage of inflation in all the capitalist countries—the excuse for the 'social contract' and the £6 ceiling? Elsewhere we print the analysis by two socialist economists which gives the general answer for the capitalist world—growth in military expenditure, artificial stimulants applied to the general economic situation, heavy cuts in living standards which increase unemployment. But how sharply this applies in particular to Britain! Here the 'defence' budget has grown from £2,503 million under the Tories in 1970-71 to £4,184 million under a Labour government in 1974-75—with the prospect of £4,548 million in 1975-76: all, of course, in defiance of the 1973 Labour Party Conference resolution calling for a cut 'initially by at least £1,000 million per year'. The House of Commons Committee report on the motor car industry, published last month, has criticised (at last) the general trend—though only *in that particular case*—which this and other socialist journals have long scarified as a second basic cause *for Britain* of the long-dragging economic crisis: refusal of the monopoly capitalists to make fundamental investments in the British economy, as a socialist government would do (preferring instead to seek easier profits abroad). Ever and again the newspapers carry reports of the speculative parasitism, described in our last issue by Alan Brown, which sucks the strength from British economy like a malignant cancer. All leads back to the policies which promote this system instead of preparing to supersede it—policies no less Tory because practised by a right-wing Labour government. Every TUC delegate might, in addition, well ponder over the meaning of proposals put forward by a *Times* leading article (July 25) for a policy to *follow* eighteen months of pay restraint: (1) 'Bring down the minimum level of unemployment required for reasonable price stability'; (2) 'Diminish the ravages of collective bargaining' (not 'substantially' says the capitalist mouthpiece, but obviously to some degree); (3) 'reduce the grotesque effects of local authority housing in tying people to unsuitable locations'; (4) 'permanent general payroll subsidies to employers in weaker areas'. Quite a programme in

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itself! These proposals are prefaced, moreover, by the remarkable admission that 'we no longer know how to maintain full employment.'

Helsinki and its Enemies

With these considerations in mind, it is by no means a far cry to turn to the great event of recent weeks—the Summit Conference on European Security and Co-operation held in Finland from July 30 to August 1, after more than two years of discussions between the representatives of 33 European states—the real Europe, instead of the sham of the Common Market—together with the US and Canada. Gordon Schaffer in this issue deals with all the main aspects of the great document adopted by the conference. But it is worth noting how one of his warnings has already been justified by events. In the socialist countries, the public were given the full text of the Final Act at Helsinki, taking up many additional pages of their regular daily paper—*Pravda*, *Trybuna Ludu* (Poland), *Rudé Právo* (Czechoslovakia), *Neues Deutschland* (GDR) and others—without extra charge. It is they, tens of millions of them, who will be able to keep by them the undertakings solemnly assumed by the 35 heads of state, and compare them with the actual course of events in the next two years, as the British press has been loudly calling for since the conference closed (pretending that it is sure the USSR will not fulfil its obligations). But in Britain, the government has published . . . a White Paper costing 65 pence: some twenty times the price of newspapers in the socialist countries! So it will be the vast mass of British citizens who will be helpless when their favoured papers begin howling about 'the other side' breaking pledges, while hiding the way Whitehall has been 'welshing'. This was a small, but characteristic and eloquent signal of the real attitude of imperialist officialdom. The unquestionable fact is that, after all the sabotage of the last 24 months, the conference was a remarkable set-back for these very forces of monopoly capitalism and reaction which are launching attack after attack on the working class in Britain as in all capitalist-ruled countries. If evidence were required, one need only look through the files of the chief moulders of public opinion in Britain since the conference ended.

Their Caterwauling—and Why

'Beware of the poison of the press!' ran a verse in one of the old socialist songs, seventy years ago, which veterans will remember. Sure enough. 'One of the emptiest non-events in the history of

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diplomacy' (*Telegraph*, August 2); 'No great hopes should be pinned on the texts' (*Times*, the same day—without telling you what the texts were); 'The monster of a document . . . is suspect . . . . The growing scepticism in the West about this thing the Russians call detente' (*Economist*, the same day); 'The Helsinki jamboree . . . a rather childish get-together . . . self-betrayal' (Crankshaw in the *Observer*, August 3); 'Those who, in this country and elsewhere, mock at the whole Helsinki procedure as a fraud and a waste of time, have some strong arguments on their side' (*Sunday Times*, the same day); 'A highly organised, efficient and totally artificial closed circuit' (*Times* diplomatic correspondent, August 4); 'Marathon talk-in . . . clichés of the European statesmen . . . fundamental ambiguity of the document signed at Helsinki' (*Times* commentator on the awkward fact of Vatican support for the Final Act, August 9). If the *Times*, on August 6, called in one notorious American anti-Soviet ambassadress, Mrs Claire Boothe Luce, to denounce detente, the *Telegraph* on August 14 followed up with another mouthpiece, the unspeakable George Meany: which the *Times* countered on August 16 with an anti-Soviet tirade from Lord Home. And so on, accompanied by a torrent of letters from Tory troglodytes and die-hards: in sum, comprising every variety of direct falsehood, slimy half-lie, unprincipled sneer and dirty innuendo in the Conservative vocabulary. Their caterwauling is, of course, above all a warning of the malicious intentions of the British ruling class regarding detente —a class easily the most malevolent, most cunning, most unscrupulous and most implacable in its hatred of socialism, here or abroad —rather than of any defects in the Final Act. That document, after all, was a practical compromise between opposing systems of society, forced upon the warmongers by joint pressure of the workers in their own countries, the socialist powers and the passionate desire of both the developing, ex-colonial countries and the smaller capitalist states to be left in peace. Yet it was an extremely far-reaching one, holding out the promise of a better future for Europe and the whole world, provided the friends of peace, and organised labour in the first instance, keep up the fight against the warmongers— including the now open outcry of the military brass-hats fearful for their well-paid jobs if detente 'breaks out'. As a footnote to the anguished shouts of the generals, one may note that all their 'statistics' of threatening Soviet armaments have been cooked up in the Pentagon lie factory, *without the slightest basis in any Soviet facts.* Similarly, the 'grave warnings' of American politicians to the USSR not to interfere in the difficulties of revolutionary Portugal have

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been based throughout on entirely imaginary Soviet 'subsidies' and 'directions'—distracting attention from the *open* intervention in Portuguese affairs by the threat of economic blockade publicly announced by the Common Market, and by the unashamed gloating in the British press over the burning down of Communist offices and homes by mobs of fascist hooligans and priest-incited peasantry in northern Portugal.

Even the Space-Ships!

One curious part of the campaign to blacken or pooh-pooh any step that looks like promoting international friendship instead of tension was the sustained effort—in the same quarters—to cry down the full significance of the American-Soviet 'handshake in the cosmos' by bringing together the Apollo and Soyuz space-ships. The effort began long before they took flight: it has continued since. Here there is room for only two examples out of many. The flight was 'the most expensive and exotic gesture in diplomacy', wrote the *Times* correspondent at Houston (July 23), adding—without the slightest proof, and indeed directly contradicting all the hard evidence—that it 'seems questionable' whether the Russians 'will continue with the openness displayed over the past week.' In fact, Academician Kotelnikov (acting president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences) at a press conference the very next day confirmed in so many words that he and Dr Low, leader of the American scientists, had arranged to meet in a few months time to discuss the further programme: while Mr B. Shapley, representing the director of the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration, stated at the same conference that American and Soviet technical specialists were *already* jointly discussing the preliminaries. Again, the same correspondent wrote (July 25) 'officials' (unnamed) 'of NASA concede readily that the decision to make the flight was a political one,' admitting that 'some useful scientific information has been obtained as a by-product.' Now, of course, the flight *was* of immense political significance. It showed that both great countries possess the resources to make such flights (after all the rubbish talked about Soviet 'poverty' and 'engineering incapacity'), that they are each capable of deciding to use these resources in giant scientific enterprise instead of for destructive purposes, and that—despite all the 'warnings' about the 'perils of detente'—the US and the USSR could co-operate in *proving* this unprecedented machinery of man's daring invention. And of course—from the Soviet side at any rate, and on the part of many millions of ordinary Americans

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—the flight was powerful political propaganda for the idea that this is only one of the spheres in which the nations, small as well as great, can co-operate for the benefit of all mankind, when they put their minds to it. The flight was an immense illustration, visible on all the TV screens of the world, of what Lenin meant when he preached the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of all countries, irrespective of their differing social and economic systems.

Their Value for Science

But that is only one aspect. What was the first cause of the joint flight? For a number of years now each country has been putting its manned vehicles into space—independently. But supposing something goes wrong with the vehicle (as it does with ships at sea)? Wouldn't it be senseless to say: 'That's our affair, strangers keep out'? Some politicians of stunted intelligence might say it, but no scientist or technician would. And so, three years ago, the scientists, engineers and technicians of both sides began studying the problem together as well as separately. They visited each other's laboratories and testing stations; they posed each other problems and tried to solve them, together and separately; the intending astronauts and cosmonauts, past and present, for many months before the flight, stayed with their opposite colleagues, undergoing joint tests and training sessions, learning all that each side could provide. One problem of the first magnitude was how to make possible actual docking of the two vehicles in a rescue operation, seeing that each had developed its own exterior. That led to the invention of the 'androgynous' ('man-woman': don't let's elaborate) grappling and docking equipment. But it also led to the invention of the 'tunnel' between the two space-ships in which the originally quite different atmospheres and pressures in the two could be reduced to the common denominator, so to speak. 'Purely technique, not science,' says some Philistine: though where is the boundary between science and modern technique? Very well. But what happens when the crews meet, about the microbes on their skin and mucous membranes? What happens about the 'microflora' *inside* the two space-ships, and their reaction with the microbes which the crews bring with them? How far can the microbial changes which take place in space conditions affect conditions back on earth? These questions were studied *together* over months; precise means were worked out by the two sides for collecting material, dividing the study of individual groups of microbes between Soviet and American specialists; tubes containing the material collected were actually *handed over in*

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space by the Apollo crew to their Soyuz colleagues; when Soyuz returned to earth, all initial analyses were made at the Soviet Institute of Medical and Biological Problems in the presence of representatives of *both* countries, and divided between them, as planned months before. Was this a 'by-product'? Was this merely incidental? Was it just 'exotic diplomacy'? Only very short-sighted people, or those wilfully ignorant, can think so or say so. And mark: these details, provided at the press conference of July 24 and in the Soviet *Medical Gazette* of July 30, refer only to the *biological* importance of the joint flight. But the joint astronomical work done (artificial solar eclipse by one vehicle to enable the other to study the sun's corona), the problem of absorption of ultra-violet rays in the upper atmosphere, and several other *jointly planned* and *jointly fulfilled* programmes were also of great significance. And a great deal, if not all, of this work *depended* on the co-operation of scientists using different approaches. This was but the first joint experimental flight of its kind: future possibilities are boundless. And that is just why the enemies of detente, the fomentors of cold war, those for whom hatred of socialism dominates all other passions, cry them down. *August 20, 1975*

SOCIETY OF GRAPHICAL AND ALLIED TRADES

The National Executive Council of SOGAT extends to all workers its fraternal greetings. It pledges its continued support for policies directed to creating a democratic socialist society.

W. H. KEYS
General Secretary

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EUROPEAN SECURITY

Gordon Schaffer

THE agreements on security and co-operation signed in Helsinki by 33 European states, together with the US and Canada, have given the peoples and governments of our continent a second chance to create the sort of world for which millions died in the world war against fascism. Co-operation and coexistence *could* have been made secure if the agreements made at Yalta and Potsdam between the wartime allies had been sincerely carried out. The vast sums spent on armaments *could* have been used to raise the living standards in all our countries and to counter poverty and disease throughout the world. That chance was lost.

At the 1945 election in Britain, all the political parties pledged themselves to continue the co-operation with the Soviet Union, which alone made victory possible. Within months, the pledge was broken. The pro-Nazi generals and politicians were restored to power in Western Germany. The collaborators were installed in Athens and the anti-Nazis gaoled. Franco, the declared ally of Hitler, was preparing to pack his bags when Ernest Bevin, Labour Foreign Minister, gave him support and reassurance. From then onwards, the division of the continent was made more and more complete. We know from irrefutable evidence that several times the Western powers contemplated launching war in Europe against the Soviet Union. The guidelines issued to Nato generals still provide, in certain circumstances, for the first use of nuclear weapons. We know that Nato's nuclear armaments could destroy the continent a dozen times over. There are equally powerful weapons on the other side.

To appreciate the magnitude of the break-through to peace at Helsinki it is only necessary to look back to the situation when the Warsaw pact countries first proposed an all-European conference in 1966, when the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU issued its peace programme in 1971, even when the first Brussels Assembly to mobilise public support for the proposal was held in 1972. At that time, there were apparently insuperable obstacles in the way. Harold Wilson, in his first period as Prime Minister, had signed an agreement with Mr Kosygin, Soviet Prime Minister, which spoke of the need for *all* the governments of Europe to collaborate in peace policies. When it became clear that this meant what it said, and must therefore include the German Democratic Republic, the agreement was stillborn. Mr Wilson and George Brown assured

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the West Germans that there was no question of recognising the GDR. The Queen was roped in to join the chorus.

It was Willi Brandt's election as Chancellor and his *Ostpolitik*, resulting in the signatures of the treaties between the Federal Republic and the socialist countries and the four power agreement on West Berlin, that demolished the first barrier to the holding of the conference. The recognition of the GDR was the natural sequel, and this meant *all* the states of Europe could take part. It also meant that the post-war frontiers were accepted before the conference met.

The propaganda stories that the Soviet Union wanted the conference to legalise these frontiers is plain nonsense. The frontiers were imposed by the agreement of all the wartime allies as the consequence of Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender. The biggest contribution to peace was the treaty signed with Poland as one of the first acts of the GDR to ensure that the new frontier between their countries would be one of peace and friendship. The Helsinki agreements have confirmed this reality. They have at the same time given a rebuff to the backwoodsmen, led by our newspapers, who still refuse to accept this reality.

In the defence debates in the House of Commons, the leaders of both parties continue to talk the language of cold war, rather than detente. The Nato generals, and their friends the arms manufacturers, clamour for more and more deadly weapons. Mrs Thatcher joins in. It becomes more and more clear that Nato is not seriously regarded by them as an instrument of defence, for nobody believes the Soviet Union or her allies are going to attack anybody. They want to retain Nato as a means of preventing, or attempting to prevent, social change. They sedulously conceal the fact that the Warsaw Pact countries have offered the most far-reaching, all-round cuts in troops and all types of armaments, the banning of all nuclear weapons and finally the disbandment of both alliances and their replacement by agreements under the Charter of the United Nations.

While the influence of these forces, backed as they are by most of the newspapers as well as the TV and radio commentators, must not be minimised, we must also recognise the tremendous strength of the people's demand for peace which forced the long drawn-out Geneva discussions to reach positive results and brought 35 heads of state together in the most impressive meeting in history. None dared stand aloof. This is the promise that we have laid the foundation for peace in our continent and the world. The leaders as well as the peoples are realising that co-operation between our different countries is possible and that it is in the interests of all.

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For Britain, reduction in the arms bill and trade with the crisis-free socialist countries may well be a condition of survival. Both are made possible by the Helsinki agreements.

One of the first tasks must be to make our people aware of the far-reaching nature of the agreements. The Soviet government has already fulfilled the pledge given by all the countries to publish the full texts of the agreement. We still await the texts in Britain. And it will not be good enough to put them in a high priced white paper, as happened with the equally far-reaching agreement signed by Mr Wilson in Moscow last February.

First and foremost the promise to complement political detente with military detente must be fulfilled. Both Mr Wilson and Mr Callaghan have said that after Helsinki disarmament is the most urgent need. Will they have the courage to stand up to the generals and take a new initiative at the Vienna disarmament talks?

The agreements on the setting up of joint commissions on economic, scientific, industrial, technological, agricultural and other forms of co-operation offer immense possibilities, but they need action by the governments. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, frequently referred to in the agreements, can be the basis for co-operation between *all* the states of Europe. The basis has been laid for increased human contacts and improved exchanges between West and East, and there can be little doubt these will flourish as peace flourishes and fear and distrust disappear. At the same time, those elements here who are so anxious to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries might ponder how the peoples elsewhere regard the abrogation of human rights in Northern Ireland or the imprisonment of British trade unionists for exerting elementary rights for which their forefathers fought and suffered a century and a half ago.

The two years before the conference reconvenes in Belgrade are our years of opportunity. This is the responsibility of the peoples as well as the governments. We dare not fail.

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The *Labour Monthly* office is always glad to receive old copies of the journal to help make up sets for bound volumes. We are on the look-out for copies for the years 1921-36, 1940-43 and 1945-49. Please send any you can spare to our office at 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.

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THE 1975 TUC AGENDA

John R. Foster
National Organiser
Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
Engineering Section

THE incoming of a minority Labour government in February 1974 and its translation into a majority government the following October were unique events in modern British history. Unique because they sprang directly from the electorate's recognition that the economic crisis could not be solved at the expense of the working class. In voting out the Tory government, the working class was not only rejecting the suppression of the miners' pay claim; they were seeking to prevent their own claims from meeting a similar fate.

That the Labour Party was not returned with a substantial majority was due to two factors: the first was the solid vote the Tories received from their traditional supporters; the second was a lingering doubt among the working class that Labour would or could defend living standards within this system.

There were those who argued that the social contract was a declaration by Labour that living standards would be defended while the transition to socialism took place. However, all such illusions have now gone. The Labour government has unequivocally declared itself as the instrument for cutting workers' living standards, and it is against this background that the 1975 TUC agenda must be seen.

The most important part of the agenda contains the resolutions covering incomes policies. There is already a sharp contrast to last year's almost monolithic support for the social contract. Of the eighteen resolutions which refer directly to incomes, only two give unequivocal support for the social contract 'Mark II'. Five are directly opposed to it and the remainder have reservations of varying degrees. Given the fact that many resolutions were submitted before the government's latest intentions were made known, it can be assumed that many of the reservations are against the original social contract and mark a change in opinion as to the value and real intention of that policy. This trend would appear to hold out hope that acceptance of the government's present policies will be rejected. Such a conclusion could, however, be entirely misleading.

Of the five resolutions completely opposed to the government's new incomes policy, only one rejects the policy in such terms as to prevent any escape clauses. The resolution submitted by the Tech-

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nical and Supervisory Section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (TASS), in rejecting an incomes policy until the major means of production, distribution and exchange are socially owned, not only rejects any attempt at an incomes policy under capitalism but also provides the working class with the only socialist alternative: a continuation of the classic argument developed at the 1974 Congress, dramatically withdrawn in the 'interests of unity'.

The other resolutions which oppose the government's policy are open to varying interpretations, from being opposed only if the policy is made legally binding, to rejecting the policy because the workers in one particular sector may be hit. Even the Fire Brigades' Union's total opposition nevertheless projects no alternative policy.

The TASS resolution creates the opportunity for a full debate on the alternative to the present crisis being solved at the expense of the workers. Should there be any compromise which suggests opposition to interference by the law but leaves the TUC to impose restraints upon workers, then not only will the TUC be seen to fail in the most important task of defending workers' living standards but by far the larger part of the rest of the agenda will, inevitably, be diluted.

One example: it is sheer humbug to support resolutions opposing the growth in unemployment while supporting a policy of reducing real wages by limiting increases to a maximum of £6. This, with the present rate of inflation, must reduce the workers' purchasing power, an act which can only create further unemployment as the history of this system proves. Similarly, it is hard to visualise anything more damaging than to call for an extension of picketing rights, yet adopt an incomes policy which will ensure that many more workers are forced to picket to defend their jobs directly as a result of the TUC complying with the Labour government's policy.

Under such circumstances, the passing of the most radical resolutions on nationalisation, multinationals, industrial democracy, education, health and manpower planning can all become meaningless.

Even the very welcome resolutions on women's rights, which have taken a qualitative change in demanding equal opportunities, can be reduced to little more than women joining the same dole queues, having the same mortgage foreclosures and in general being asked to share the misery of bearing the brunt of capitalism's crisis.

Does this mean that, should the TASS wages resolution be lost, there is no point in supporting progressive resolutions on other subjects? Of course not, but it does mean recognising the damaging

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effects on working class strategy that acceptance of the current restrictive incomes policy can have. Such realism makes it vital that no one at Congress misunderstands the issues at stake.

The agenda this year reflects the majority opposition, through experience, to the attempts to make the workers pay for the crisis. But that opposition, in the main, is only half thought out, and merely reacts against the existing policy without providing a socialist alternative. The TASS resolution prevents any attempt at dressing up retreat in high sounding words and calling it progress.

Given the support for that resolution, the rest of the TUC agenda falls into place as a programme for developing the struggle for socialism. This 1975 Congress has the power to create the radical instruments and the means 'to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families' (the Labour Party's 1973 Programme).

But issues are not just decided during Congress week, although it is vital to seek the commitment of every possible delegate behind the TASS resolution. It is more important between Congresses to develop, involve and implement a campaign in every work-place which will put 'flesh on the bone' of the TASS resolution.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE

AUEW—TASS

We shall continue the struggle to preserve free bargaining rights and improve workers' living standards

We call for the implementation of Labour's manifesto

BARRY SEAGER
President

KEN GILL
General Secretary

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THE ASSOCIATED SOCIETY OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN

EXTENDS BEST WISHES TO ALL DELEGATES ATTENDING THE 1975 TUC CONGRESS

R. W. BUCKTON
General Secretary

ASSOCIATION OF CINEMATOGRAPH, TELEVISION AND ALLIED TECHNICIANS

Pay controls and unemployment are not the solution to Britain's economic problems. ACTT unites with all trade unionists who reject the economics of despair and assert their right to free collective bargaining.

Alan Sapper: *General Secretary*
2 Soho Square, London, W1V 6DD

The Transport & General Workers' Union

SENDS GREETINGS TO

ALL CONGRESS DELEGATES

JACK JONES
General Secretary

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EMPLOYMENT PROTECTION BILL

Albert Booth MP
Minister of State
Department of Employment

THE Employment Protection Bill, now past Lords second reading and well on its way to the statute book, will affect the lives of everyone at work every working day, but how many of them realise it?

Perhaps it is the dreary language of industrial relations that leads to its being ignored. Or perhaps legislation on industrial relations only gets attention when it is as misconceived as the 1971 Industrial Relations Act, the last troublesome vestiges of which will end when the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Amendment) Bill is passed.

Whatever the reason there is no doubt that, excepting for those in the trade union movement and elsewhere with whom we have worked so closely to produce this radical new framework of industrial relations practice, the Employment Protection Bill has yet to receive the attention it deserves.

There are probably few people who realise the significant role that the Employment Protection Bill fulfils in the government programme, now containing a commitment, for the introduction of an Industrial Democracy Bill by 1976-77. But joint control of industry can work only if there is strong trade union organisation and a strong collective bargaining process, and it is as a stimulus to the trade union movement to establish this basis of strength that is the real significance of the Employment Protection Bill.

As well as enabling trade unions to gain recognition from reluctant employers, a procedure that will be especially useful to extending the coverage of staff unions, the Bill extends the area of collective bargaining beyond straightforward settlement of wages and hours to matters such as pensions and training, areas which have been traditionally neglected by unions when conducting negotiations.

The Bill also deals with disclosure of information. Progress to real industrial democracy can be achieved only if trade unions have regular access to all the relevant information needed to arrive at informed conclusions. The Employment Protection Bill goes wider than the Industry Bill's provisions on the disclosure of strategic information, by imposing a duty on employers, no matter what their size, to disclose to recognised trade unions all information which they have and which the unions need if the collective bargaining process is not to be impeded.

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Workers will also have a more effective say in the decisions which vitally affect them following the major shake-up of the Wages Council system. Under their widened powers Wages Councils will have more independence and will be able to act much more quickly and over the whole area of terms and conditions of employment, an innovation particularly relevant to this badly organised sector which still covers three million workers. The real answer of course is for Wages Council industry workers to organise properly by taking the chance the Bill offers to make substantial progress towards establishing voluntary negotiating machinery. There are powers under the Bill for the conversion of wages councils to statutory joint Industrial Councils, and these, because they will have no independent members, will become a 'half-way house' toward genuine collective bargaining. Another important change in Wages Councils industries is the special provision for a union to make a claim to the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) to achieve for its members terms and conditions of employment which are up to the same standard as those it has already succeeded in achieving in collective agreements for other members working for similar employers in the same industry.*

Along with these measures, plus the wider role given to the ACAS under the first clause of the Bill (promoting the improvement of industrial relations, encouraging the extension and, where necessary, the reform of collective bargaining machinery) and the other proposals under the Bill, trade union organisation will be strong enough to meet with confidence the heavy demands that participation in the joint control of industry undoubtedly requires.

The other main theme of the Bill, the series of new rights for individual employees, particularly those affecting job security, are better known and appreciated. Broadly speaking they extend to all blue collar workers many of the rights which have long been taken for granted by most white collar workers. For the first time in this country a legally backed system of guaranteed payments will be introduced for employees laid off or forced on to short time. Nearly all salaried staff and a substantial number of all workers are already covered by voluntary guaranteed week arrangements but this has left about two million without any protection at all at the moment.

Also for the first time a woman leaving to have a baby after two years at work will be entitled to maternity pay from her employer

* As was pointed out by *Labour Research* (June 1975), however, 'it is doubtful if the ultimate sanction proposed' (an award by the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service) 'has sufficient, or indeed any, bite'—Ed *LM*.

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for six weeks, and if she wants her job back she is entitled to return to work up to six months after having the baby.

Employees will be protected against victimisation by an employer for taking part in trade union activities. They will also have the right to time off work to perform trade union duties.

For too long the first news that many workers have had that their firm was in trouble has been when the managing director gave a press conference announcing redundancies. All employers will now have to consult trade unions in advance so that the workers' view may be heard before decisions affecting their livelihood are taken.

The Bill contains many other positive and far-reaching proposals. They will be phased in as economic circumstances allow but this does not mean they are in any way extravagant. They simply establish as a right for all employees the kind of working conditions that are already provided by enlightened employers both here and abroad.†

† However, as the June *Labour Research* pointed out, 'by its silence on any revision of the law of conspiracy in relation to picketing, the Bill implicitly confirms the Shrewsbury decision' (the notorious victimisation of two building workers' leaders). Moreover it makes a picket delaying a lorry in order to impart information to its driver liable to a charge of 'illegal obstruction of the highway' (thus actually extending the scope of the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection Act)—Ed *LM*.

The
National Executive Council
of the Foundry Section of the

AMALGAMATED UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKERS

send greetings to all TUC delegates and workers everywhere, for social justice and international solidarity

R. Garland, *General Secretary*
J. Bradshaw, *President*

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

(Scottish Area)
5 Hillside Crescent, Edinburgh

The Scottish miners send fraternal greetings to all delegates and visitors to the British TUC and express their solidarity with all those struggling to improve the living standards of ordinary working class people in Britain

MICHAEL McGAHEY
President
DAVID BOLTON
Vice-President
WILLIAM McLEAN
General Secretary

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FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE

South Wales Area NUM

TO ALL DELEGATES ATTENDING THE TUC

We hope that Congress decisions will take our people nearer to a socialist Britain

EMLYN WILLIAMS, *President*
GEORGE REES, *Vice-President*
DAVID FRANCIS, *General Secretary*

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

The crux of the situation for the British bourgeoisie, and for the world bourgeoisie in greater or less degree, is a successful employers' offensive. *There can be no post-war stability of capital without this offensive.* Just as primitive accumulation was necessary for the development of capitalism, so the employers' offensive is necessary for post-war stability of capitalism. 'The capitalist system,' said Marx, 'presupposes a complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realise their labour. . . . The so-called primitive accumulation, however, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production.' In a similar way post-war stability of capitalism presupposes the complete subjugation of the working class under the hammer blows of an employers' offensive. This is the cardinal feature of the new economic world situation. Unless this is understood, nothing is understood, and the way is paved to shameful submissions, and defeat after defeat.

Here is where the Social Democrat and 'more production' boosters mislead the workers. In Germany the cry was: 'Let us have stable capitalism first'; 'Let us set Humpty-Dumpty up again and *then* we can develop towards socialism.' In this country equally, though not with such tragically obvious conclusions as in Germany, the workers have been misled. 'Stabilise capitalism and evolve towards socialism' has been the parrot cry. Hence we have the Labour government continuing the process towards stabilisation (support of the Dawes Plan) whereas they were leading the workers direct into a fools' paradise. It is a dawning realisation of this that has caused the distrust of the trade unions, as manifested in the recent crisis, towards any and all of the parliamentary leaders.

(From 'The Capitalist Offensive and the Mining Crisis' by R. Page Arnot, *Labour Monthly*, September 1925)

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DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR PARTY

Joan Maynard MP

THE battle for democracy in the Labour Party is part of the vital battle for socialism, for it is a battle to make people in authority accountable to the people, a very sound principle indeed.

Not a single one of us would be Labour members of parliament were it not for the hard work and money of working people. It is therefore right that we should be accountable to them whom we are supposed to come here to represent. We hear much today about tolerance in the Party. I have been a member of the Labour Party 30 years next January, and I can, unfortunately, remember some pretty intolerant days in the Party. I am thinking of the time when the right wing controlled the trade unions and the National Executive Committee, and therefore controlled Conference. Where was the tolerance then? Liverpool Exchange decided they did not want to re-adopt their MP: the Party was disbanded; a new Party was formed that would re-adopt her. Not much tolerance there. The expulsion of Konni Zilliacus, accused of not supporting Conference decisions: his expulsion was moved, I believe, by Sam Watson, Durham miners' leader who subsequently supported Gaitskell in his fight, fight, fight against the Party Conference decision on the bomb! So where was the tolerance or logic in these actions?

The fact is that now that the left wing has more power in the Party there is much more tolerance, but this does not extend to allowing people to flout Party democracy and cock a snook at working people. Far too many people have ridden to success on the backs of working people and then argued that they were not responsible to the people who elected them, or, more commonly, they have just ignored them.

I was elected to the House of Commons in October 1974. From December 18, 1974, to April 7, 1975, I was off ill, but in the short space of time I have been there I realise that this place personifies *élit*ism and the establishment. The real problem is how to keep in touch with the people not how to escape from them.

This makes it all the more necessary not only to maintain Party democracy but to extend it. For instance, I believe that all MPs should have to face a selection conference with other contenders for their seats at general elections. This would be a healthy development. I was sorry that the Rushcliffe Amendment was not carried at the

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Special Party Conference last year; it would have had just that effect. It would have been a way of making those in authority responsible to the people who help them to get elected; when you cannot make people in authority accountable you are in a hopeless position, and this happens far too frequently in this society.

I am also in favour of electing the Party leader at the Party Conference instead of the election being done by a section of the Party, namely the Parliamentary Party. Where is the democracy in this? It again smells of *élit*ism.

When Labour is in opposition we, the Parliamentary Labour Party, elect the shadow cabinet; when we are in office the Prime Minister chooses the cabinet: again a very undemocratic practice and one which the labour movement should not support.

I am also in favour of the voting in the NEC of the Party being made public. We should at all times be prepared to let the people know whom we represent, what we are doing in their name. If we have nothing to hide then we have nothing to fear.

We fought two general elections last year on manifestoes to which we are supposed to be committed, yet the government is now moving in the opposite direction from what was set out in the manifestoes. Many of us feel that we have been on this roundabout before. Party members and trade unionists fight for a policy and work very hard to elect people to parliament to carry out that policy, and then time after time the majority of our representatives here repudiate it. The fight, therefore, to make those in authority responsible to the people is part of the battle to get a socialist policy carried out; you cannot separate the two. It is part of the battle to make working people aware of their real power in society, to encourage them to resist being pushed around by the people who have always run society. It is part of the battle to maintain and extend what democracy we have in our society as a whole. 'Freedom' and 'democracy' are words we use a great deal, but they are delicate flowers really. Everything in society gets bigger, and people feel that they have less and less control. This leads to disillusionment and cynicism. Cynicism can lead to fascism. If ordinary people cannot turn to the labour movement and make their views felt, where can they go? We carry a heavy responsibility.

Those in power and authority guard and fight to protect their privileges. They fear the awakening of the people, for the people are all-powerful. They already run our complicated society but they run it in the interests of the few. It is our job to help them to build and run a socialist society in the interests of the many. How can

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we do this if we destroy democracy in the Party, for in the process we destroy their faith and their beliefs.

I end where I began, not a single one of us would today be where we are in the House of Commons, not a single one of us would be on the NEC of the Labour Party, were it not for the support of the people. We are therefore responsible to them. We ought to feel very humble, in the right sense of the word, because of the trust placed in us. I know I should not hold the position I hold today were it not for the support of farm and rural workers over the years, followed by the support of a wonderful group of workers in Brightside, Sheffield. I feel intensely proud to be their champion and I will fight with all my strength to give them maximum democracy in the Party and in the country.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

Doreen Haylock*

IF we are to achieve the aims of International Women's Year—equality for women with men, the development of all aspects of social and educational advancement, and for women to undertake, as their right, to work towards the peace of the world—attention must be focused on the fact that hundreds of thousands of women are blissfully unaware that they are being deprived of the social and educational development that must be attained before they can realise their full potential and so fulfil the desirable objectives of IWY.

Before true equality can be a fact, we must find a way to overcome the toughest barrier of all, that of custom and practice. It is accepted that the woman, if she goes out to a paid job, comes home to an unpaid job. Shaw says that 'under the capitalist system women found themselves worse off than men because, as capitalism made a slave of the man and then, by paying the woman through him, made her his slave, she became the slave of a slave, which is the worst form of slavery.'

What chance have we who are fighting to ensure that the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Bill become meaningful legislation, if women decline the advantages simply through ignorance of their existence?

I have had first-hand experience quite recently of women workers

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in an engineering company who failed to comprehend the significance of a further salary increment towards equal pay on a job-evaluated wage structure. They protested quite adamantly because the male labourers who were on a lower job grade, but working with them in the same department, were now receiving less than themselves. The women had been grossly underpaid for years, but it just had not occurred to them that justice was theirs. Another incident was of women being asked if they would like to learn how to set up their own small hand presses, a job requiring no physical strength but normally done by the men, and at one time by young boys: not one of the women would have a go, even though it meant they would get the male rate for the job, which they will now have difficulty in claiming.

Traditional attitudes that mathematics and science were not for girls still exist, but the latest reports from the *Statistics of Education Vol 2: School Leavers, CSE and GCE 1973* show that girls are catching up with boys in GCE A-level results. In 1963, only 70 girls compared with 100 boys left school with A-level passes; in 1973, the girls had increased to 90 against 100 boys; although the girls were still following the traditional art subjects, it was found that girls who did concentrate on science subjects did just as well as boys. However, for girls simply to obtain a qualification without going forward into industry or commerce, without the desire to follow through with all the training opportunities that are now available, is ludicrous, but unfortunately this happens all too often.

Day release and courses are arranged for girls who start but they seem to lose interest. While there is no compulsion by law to make girls attend day release courses, the shop stewards are fighting a losing battle, and until parents and teachers (with the aid of the education authorities who could make courses more interesting and work-orientated instead of a continuation of school) can convince youngsters that further education is an absolute necessity, employers will remain as reluctant as ever in giving women the same job training and promotional opportunities as men.

Women, especially those who are not activists, fear that the moves to real equality will be a disadvantage to the majority. Thousands of unorganised women in small or one-off concerns allow themselves to be exploited as it is, and I believe that with the removal of legislative protection given to women under the Factories Act thousands more women will allow themselves to be conned or pressured into working many more unsociable shifts in an effort to keep their jobs. Obviously the initiative must come from the trade union movement

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to step up organisation. If we look at the figures from the Central Statistical Office data we see that the projected economically active population for 1976 is males 15,833,000, females 9,331,000. Trade union membership at the end of 1972 is approximately 8,426,000 males and 2,889,000 females: whilst there is plenty of scope for the organisation of both males and females, it is clearly shown that it still seems to be a more difficult task to recruit female workers.

At the Tyneside Summer Exhibition held in Newcastle at the end of July, the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff had a trades stand. The theme they chose was International Women's Year 1975, using the posters sent down from the TUC headquarters at Congress House which depict the hundred years of struggle for women's rights. Thousands of the TUC's *Twelve Aims for Women at Work* were distributed as were the IWY stickers and their own union pamphlets explaining the Equal Pay Act. It was a great success. The reaction from such a wide section of the general public was most heartening. Obvously the message is being accepted especially amongst organised workers. It was interesting to note that it was the older women who asked questions and took the most notice. Awareness is not enough: the trade union and socialist movements still have a terrific job of work to do in further developing this awareness into an understanding of the individual's rights, how to set about using the 'machinery' of the trade unions, industrial tribunals, the Equality Commission and the political pressures that must be brought to bear to end discrimination.

Men and women must be properly trained by the trade union movement to sit on the industrial tribunals. This is a vital stage in ensuring that the legislative enactments which were designed to protect the workers are interpreted in a positive way, with the human element taken into consideration, by people who are eloquent and well informed and understand the problems of working life and can see beyond the cold print of the law books.

Is it possible that 1975 will be remembered as IWY? A colleague remarked at the beginning of the year: 'And much good will it do us.' I believe we have created a new kind of awareness that must be stimulated and developed and, as Marian Ramelson concludes in *The Petticoat Rebellion*: 'Future generations will be able to face and overcome their problems all the more speedily, all the better equipped, according to the way today's generation faces up to and overcomes the problems which confront it. The heart and core of all these problems is the speedy emancipation of all mankind, including the women.'

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Weavers from Stalybridge, Lancs, marching to

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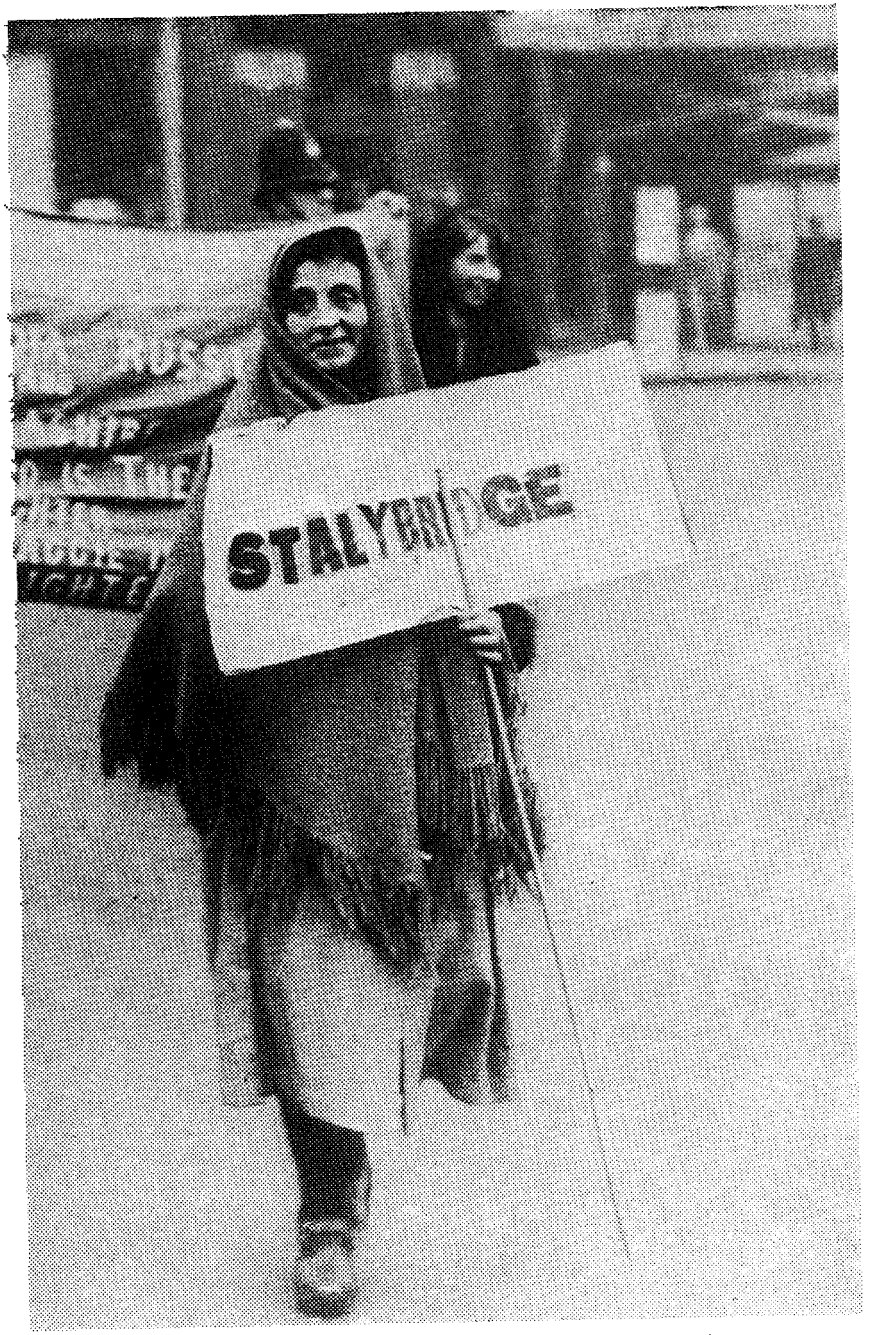

'algar Square, International Women's Day 1928

From the Bob Lovell collection

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FILM MAKERS MEET

Nina Hibbin

'WHAT are those chaps doing here?' the Big White Chief of the British businessmen's group asked me, pointing to some black Africans supping at the table next to ours at the Ninth Moscow Film Festival. 'They don't make films, do they?' I felt sorry for him, trapped in his expensively tailored suit on that sweltering night in the press bar, convinced that the official British entry he was there to present—a flat and stolid (albeit star-studied) telly-film version of *Great Expectations*—was what all Moscow was waiting for.

How was he to know, on his first blinkered visit to Moscow, that this festival offers the Third World the greatest opportunity it ever has to flex its cinema muscles? And how, in his wanderings through the Wardour Street jungle, could he ever have had the chance to savour the excitement of emergent modern African culture or to come to grips with the dynamics of Third World art?

This year, in particular, European cinema (with a few notable exceptions), whether from East or West, made very little impact, and most of the vitality of the festival came from the Third World. The documentary festival, which ran concurrently with the feature film screenings, was dominated by urgent, although not always well organised, reportage from countries embroiled in life-and-death struggle (which makes it all the more impressive that one of the British entries, Cinema Action's *The Miners' Film*, carried off two special awards).

At the main festival hall, feature films from Asian, African and South American countries attracted big audiences. There were some odd surprises—an ebullient martial arts film from Thailand, for instance, and a piece of trendy mythology from the Argentine. There were plenty of disappointments, too, especially over Cuba's entry, *The Other Francisco*, an ingenious but over-elaborate and wordy attempt at contrasting the romantic liberalism of a nineteenth-century slave novel with a more harshly realistic retrospective view, not up to Cuban cinema's usual standard.

The Egyptian and Syrian films dealt with war in the Middle East, but the most poignant war film of the festival was North Vietnam's *The Girl from Hanoi*, a painfully tender and affecting study of a little girl searching for her family after her home had been reduced to rubble in an air raid.

Algerian cinema, financed by the government, has developed its

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own gentle, richly human method of presenting didactic themes. Its official entry, *The Heritage*, is a beautifully shot and splendidly acted story about a group of families returning to the desert to rebuild their village, which had been destroyed by the French. Fagima Bouamari, whose husband Mohamed Bouamari directed the film, is magnificent in the leading role, for which she gained a 'Best Actress' award, along with Liv Ullman for her role in Sweden's *The White Wall*. A significant duo, I thought, for despite International Women's Year these two films were the only ones which had anything to offer about women's role in society.

Pride of place in African cinema must go, as often before, to Ousmane Sembene, the Senegalese writer and film director who is carving out a new cinema tradition that is wholly African and makes no concessions to Hollywood or European taste. His *Xala* appears on the surface to be a good-natured burlesque on African businessmen who, taking over from the French, become black versions of their former white oppressors. In reality, however, it is a biting political allegory which breaks out all over in an outrageous climax of many-layered significance.

With over a hundred countries taking part in the festival, representing an enormous diversity of political and social—and film-making—experience, the rather bland definitions of humanism that were postulated by some of the speakers at the two-day conference on 'Humanism in the Cinema' seemed altogether inadequate. Vague anti-war abstractions, for instance, had little meaning for film-makers from countries torn apart by armed struggle. In spite of a vigorous and highly intelligent opening from the chairman, A. Karaganov, the debate which in previous years has sometimes proved very productive, petered out into a series of separate statements about film-making problems in various countries. A pity, this, for the Moscow Festival can provide a unique forum for international cinema debate. It might be worth experimenting, next time round, with a series of carefully prepared questions, if the organisers would agree.

Over the past decade or so, the creative force of Soviet cinema appeared to be coming from the non-Russian republics, and indeed the opening film this year was *The Red Apple*, a contemporary drama made by the gifted Kirghizian director, Tolomush Okeyev. Various out-of-competition screenings of Soviet films, however, this time indicated an impressive resurgence of cinema from the major Russian studios in Moscow and Leningrad, and the breaking of much new ground.

Takovsky's *The Mirror*, a series of emotional inner-conscious

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images which, inasmuch as I was able to sense them, seemed to me to evoke old-fashioned Slavic mysticism, nevertheless breaks new ground in terms of personal cinema. Yutkevich's *Mayakovsky Laughs*, a dazzling collage of animation, puppetry, drawings, dance and drama, presents old ideas but breaks new ground in visual style. *The Bonus*, made by Mikaelian at Lenfilm, although more traditional in style, is far more exciting than either of these for it breaks new ground where it matters most. Through the development and partial resolution of a conflict at a meeting of the Party Committee on a construction site (sparked off by a work team's refusal on principle to accept their bonus), the film probes in a crisp, richly human and astonishingly candid way some of the most basic problems of socialist society. It is the most refreshing and significant Soviet film I have seen for years.*

Comparison between these Russian films is bound to raise the old 'form versus content' controversy. Taken together, the three productions—two developing new forms for traditional ideas and one using a traditional form for the development of new ideas—seem to me to illustrate very precisely the dialectics of artistic progress.

Standing entirely on its own, the masterpiece of the festival, was Kurasawa's Soviet film *Dersu Uzala*. Based on a widely read account of a real-life expedition into the Siberian taiga before the first world war, it operates at one level as a simple outdoor adventure film. A lot of critics, including some from the Soviet Union, have mistaken its simplicity for *naïveté*. They have surely missed the point. It seems to me that Kurasawa, deliberately eschewing both intellectualism and technical display, has set out to distil the essence of human beings in relation to their environment in terms of popular cinema. He has produced as profound a study of the nature of humankind as the screen has ever known. *Dersu Uzala* was the high point of the festival. The low point for me was the announcement at the final ceremony that this great film was not singled out for the accolade it deserved, but was merely one of three gold prize winners.

You will be glad to know however that our own British Big White Chief did not go home empty-handed. Despite everything, *Great Expectations* gained an award from, of all sources, the Writers' Union. The first ever Moscow Festival prize, I imagine, to be awarded posthumously.

**Pravda* gave a lengthy and favourable review of this exciting film an unusually prominent place (Editor—who also saw it in Moscow, and saw the warm approval it produced in a Soviet audience).

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WOMEN IN CHILE

Nina Pando

UNTIL September 11, 1973, Chile was a country where every citizen was free to express his opinion in whatever way he chose. It was a country of an unrestricted cultural, religious and ideological tolerance. It was a country where the workers were united in one trade union centre, and universal ballot was the vehicle of definition of a multi-party system. This system was the one that elected Salvador Allende as President of Chile, and the workers, for the first time in Chile's history, became part of the government. They worked to create a democratic, revolutionary people's programme of profound social transformation. It was a programme that ensured access to education and health services to everyone, a pint of milk a day for every child under fifteen years of age and every pregnant woman, and many other social and economic benefits.

We were developing our own policy of social transformation, broadening our relations with the rest of the world, and all we asked was that the rights of a people which had elected a workers' government be respected.

In this year of 1975, when in Europe and the rest of the world the thirtieth anniversary of the victory against fascism is being celebrated, as well as the International Women's Year, I will try to tell you about the important role which was progressively achieved by women in our country, especially during the period 1970-73 in which President Allende governed our country. It was a beautiful period for the women and men of Chile, a beautiful reality which is no more.

During the term of the Popular Unity government, several laws were passed to protect women's rights. One of them was that all firms or organisations employing more than twenty women had to have a nursery. It was thus that, during the period 1970-73, not one single day passed by without a nursery or day care centre being inaugurated in factories, industries, in government offices, in every district of the country.

Many new Mother Centres were set up, and their rather paternalistic nature was changed. In 1970 there were only 3,000 Mother Centres in Chile. In 1972, there were 13,000 and by 1973 there were 20,000. This meant that about 800,000 women in a country whose labour force is 3,500,000 were taking an active part in the solution of local and national problems and preparing themselves for productive work.

The programme of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government

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set out to ensure adequate wages for all; to abolish discrimination on grounds of age or sex; gave full civil rights to married women; gave equal legal status to all children; equalised family allowances; took measures on housing and rents and passed a law in which it was forbidden to charge rents of more than 11 per cent of the legally determined value of property.

In the parliamentary elections of March 1973, the government increased its vote from 36 to 44 per cent. The percentage of women's votes for Popular Unity increased from 30.5 to 39 over those two years. It was the first time in Chile's history that in the years following a presidential election a government had increased its votes in parliament. Allende was the only president to have received this vote of confidence.

During the last few years women were elected (unusually for Latin America) as members of parliament, representing parties of every political trend. During the Allende government a woman, Mireya Baltra, occupied the important position of Minister of Work.

Today, two years after the fascist military coup, Chile seems a different country. Hundreds of women are held as political prisoners in concentration camps. Among them, for instance, is Amanda Altamirano, a member of parliament elected by the people, who has been held without trial since the time of the coup. Like her, doctors, nurses, social workers, peasants, factory workers, lawyers, journalists or simply mothers, wives, widows or daughters of supporters of the Popular Unity government have been imprisoned and tortured.

There are few families in Chile who have not suffered in one way or another from the fascist repression, hardly a family which cannot count among its members one who has been assassinated, who has disappeared, been sacked from work, imprisoned, expelled from the country, exiled. Chilean workers are facing starvation. Unemployment has reached 20 per cent in the cities and nearer 30 per cent in the countryside.

In this International Women's Year, I ask you to think of the women in Chile, about the thousands and thousands of women who, since the coup, have been terrorised, imprisoned, tortured and raped. It is a normal proceeding in the concentration camps and jails of Chile to apply electricity to every part of the prisoner's body. Pregnant women are savagely beaten. They even have dogs especially trained to rape women prisoners. Another torture is to introduce rats into the vagina. Many women have been raped in front of their children or relatives.

Children, the most defenceless victims, do not escape this repres-

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sion, and today there are boys and girls imprisoned with their mothers. Pregnant women are giving birth to their babies in prison, babies whose first sight will be that of the jail wall. The victims of rape have been denied the right to abortion.

But in spite of all this, women are playing an active part in the daily work of resistance to the junta. One example is the action of a group of miners' wives in Concepcion who took possession of the mine shaft to protest against the persecution of their menfolk and their starvation wages. The junta was obliged to receive a delegation of miners and improve their wages. Women are active too in the organisation of collective children's dining rooms and the creation of alternative work projects for those who are black-listed and unable to obtain work.

Salvador Allende more than anyone valued the active participation of women in society; and in his last words to the Chilean people on September 11, 1973, he said: 'I am speaking, above all, to the modest woman of our country, to the peasant woman who believed in us, to the factory woman who worked harder, to the mother who realised how much we cared for her children.'

TROUBLES OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD

Y. Kapelinsky and S. Safronov

(A review by two Soviet economists, entitled 'World Capitalist Economy: January-June 1975', appeared in the Moscow Economic Gazette, *July 1975. The abridged text below is published with acknowledgements to APN*—Ed. *LM)*

THE state of the capitalist economy in the first half-year of 1975 has been marked by further aggravation of the deepest and longest post-war crisis, which began at the end of 1973.

Although final statistics for the first six months of 1975 are not yet available, preliminary estimates of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicate that on the whole industrial production in developed capitalist countries in January-June was almost 10 per cent lower than in the corresponding period of last year, with the biggest falling-off registered in such leading imperialist powers as the US, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.

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The main causes for this steep drop in industrial production are the continuing decline of consumer demand due to soaring prices and unemployment, as well as shrinking private investments in conditions of worsening instability of the capitalist economy and obscure prospects of its development.

In the US the volume of industrial production in the first half-year of 1975 is estimated to have dropped by 11 per cent on the same period of last year. In Japan industrial production in the first six months of 1975 shrank by about 15 per cent. Here, too, production declined in practically all industries, including machine building where, in the summer of 1975, orders fell to the lowest level since the second world war. In the Federal Republic of Germany the stagnation of 1974 was followed in the first half of 1975 by a rather steep drop in industrial production of 10 per cent.

In Britain the decline in industrial production in the first half of 1975 was relatively small—about 1.5 per cent. But this should be attributed in large measure to an extremely low level of production in the same period last year. As compared with the second half of 1974, the falling off of industrial production in Britain, which has continued for the second year running, is about 5 per cent. In France and Italy industrial production went down by, respectively, 9 and 12 per cent.

While in 1974 industrial production declined only in the US, Japan and Britain, whereas other capitalist countries experienced stagnation or reduced rates of growth, in the first half of the current year production fell off in practically all the major industrially developed countries of the West.

The aggravation of the economic crisis and the sharp falling off in production did not appreciably slow down the growth of prices, as bourgeois experts had hoped. According to OECD data, in April 1975 retail prices in industrially developed capitalist countries were on an average 12.1 per cent higher than a year ago.

The extremely intensive growth of inflationary tendencies compelled governments in a number of countries to use, along with traditional credit and financial restrictions, such anti-inflationary measures as price and wage controls. The continuing growth of unemployment has also had an adverse effect on consumer demand and the overall economic situation. By mid-1975 the number of officially registered unemployed in all developed capitalist countries had reached 15 million. The total number of unemployed and part-time employed workers in all developed capitalist countries today stands at about 22 million.

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This year has seen the further deepening of the crisis of state budgets in most Western countries. The growth of receipts has slowed down because of the economic crisis, and expenditure has sharply increased. This was mainly due to the growth in appropriations for military purposes, and also to the adoption of programmes aimed at artificially stimulating the general economic situation.

As a result, the deficits of state budgets reached astronomical proportions. Chronic deficits of the capitalist countries' budgets give rise to intensification of inflationary trends and new price rises in the near future. At the same time, the use of state loans by bourgeois governments to defray budget deficits steps up tension in the credit sphere, which aggravates the recession in investment and housing construction.

Finally, another means of combating deficits—budget economies primarily at the expense of the working people—entails a reduction in allocations for social and cultural needs, dismissals of public servants, growth of unemployment and, in the long run, a further fall in consumer demand.

The striving of ruling circles in the capitalist countries to shift the burden of growing economic difficulties on to the shoulders of working people is meeting a mounting rebuff on the part of the masses, headed by the working class. Powerful strikes are the working people's answer to the monopolies' onslaught.

SCIENTISTS AND DISARMAMENT

Professor E.H.S. Burhop

A SYMPOSIUM on the Role of Scientists and their Organisations in the Struggle for Disarmament, organised by the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), was held in Moscow from July 15 to July 19, 1975. It was attended by 422 scientists from 62 countries, including representatives of the United Nations Organisation and UNESCO and eighteen other international organisations. During the discussion of the five commissions of the Symposium all aspects of the problems of disarmament—social, economic, political, technical—came under review with a view to identifying particular areas where scientific workers have a special contribution to make to the problem of ending the arms race.

Naturally the problem of detente and its relationship to disarmament was continually coming into the discussion, and a wide spectrum of views emerged. Broadly, the participants at one stage were

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identifying themselves as optimists—those who took the view that the development of detente could transform the situation and enable the achievement of real concrete measures of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament—and pessimists who felt the situation to be already so threatening that nuclear war seemed a likely outcome.

The short intervention quoted below was my address, as chairman of the conference, dealing with this problem of the relation between disarmament and detente.

> Let us not class ourselves as optimists or pessimists. We are all worried people. Only fools could be anything else. We are living in the midst of the greatest arms race the world has ever seen, involving the most terrible weapons ever imagined and with worse to come. Previously arms races have had only one end—war. And what a war this would be!
>
> For years and years some of the best brains and most devoted people have negotiated or argued and explored the ground to try to work out agreements that will stick. Whatever you may think of their politics many of these people have been very sincere. They have worked out most ingenious schemes. They have only been able to achieve a few important but quite imperfect partial measures which have been better than nothing but still painfully imperfect and incomplete. Their shortcomings have been pointed out here *ad nauseam*.
>
> Why have these negotiations failed to stop the arms race? They have failed for political reasons. They have failed because one side or the other in the negotiations have felt that the plans put forward would have been dangerous for their own particular society. The capitalist countries feel that the need to maintain and, if possible, to extend the principle of free enterprise is so important that it justifies risks to peace. The socialist countries have felt that the need to maintain and extend their principles of social justice in a planned economy similarly justify risks to peace. But in the event of war both ideologies will be destroyed. Is it not sensible, therefore, if success is to be achieved, to go back to first principles? If we cannot reach agreement because of political differences which engendered an atmosphere of hostility, is it not better, instead of going on in the old way, to take a little time off to see if we cannot improve the political relations which have so far made agreement on disarmament so hard to reach?
>
> This is my reading of the real purpose of detente. Neither side can be expected to give up their cherished deep political convictions. Specifically, it does not mean that socialists stop supporting the liberation movements in the developing world. We have only to note the great help given by the Soviet Union to the people of Vietnam in meeting their arms requirements —a help which our Vietnamese colleagues have acknowledged again and again. The movement toward detente started long before the Vietnamese people completed their great victory over US imperialism. It does not mean the Soviet people stopped their indispensable help to the Vietnamese people. On the contrary, they continued it and even increased it. Detente does not mean that one side gives up its ideology. It may be hard facts will help them to do so. But the meaning of detente seems to me the building of a determination to ensure that the atmosphere of fear of the other's

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intentions will be taken out of the negotiations. Do not be so hard on the Soviet and US colleagues who initiated the drive toward detente because in order to get moving on this road they have had to concede levels of eventual arms that are terribly high. If this experiment in detente succeeds these arms levels will be reduced successively because, if the theory is working, negotiations will be so much easier.

Some of my earnest young friends on the left say it is all a snare and delusion and cannot work because it is inconsistent with a Marxist analysis of human society. I have been a Marxist for forty years and I have always understood that Marxism was not a dogma but a method of analysing human society. It is a dynamic, developing ideology. We have to apply it to the conditions we actually find. Marx, Engels and even Lenin knew nothing about the problem of nuclear and other mass annihilation weapons which have so transformed the situation.

It seems to me our Soviet colleagues, who have pursued detente with such devotion, are to be congratulated and not denigrated. Since everything else has failed cannot we give detente a chance and let us see for a time in practice whether the idea of peaceful coexistence cannot work and lead to the end of the arms race?

If the framework is established I am sure we shall need all the skill and talents of our Epsteins, Calogeros, Kistiakowskys, Thees, Primakoffs, Milshteins, Noel-Bakers to work out actual disarmament agreements. But at least they will then be working in a different framework that gives them a better chance of success.

At the concluding final session, amid great enthusiasm, an Appeal to Scientists of the World was adopted with only two participants abstaining and none voting against. This Appeal, the text of which follows, will be used as the basis of a campaign among scientific workers all over the world to strengthen the campaign against the arms race.

We, scientific workers from many disciplines, having discussed at our Moscow International Scientific Symposium *The Role of Scientists and their Organisations in the Struggle for Disarmament* (Moscow, July 15-19, 1975) and recognising our professional duty and feeling of responsibility, appeal to scientific workers of all countries and to their organisations to unite their efforts to attain peace and security.

The times through which we are living are times of accelerated scientific and technical development but they are also times of greater danger because the arms race continues unabated. Military expenditures in most countries are continuing to grow, reaching a global figure of about 250 billion dollars per annum. Massive efforts are being directed toward the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, and the development of new weapons of mass annihilation, including interference with the environment and climate.

It is essential to halt not only the further development, accumulation and deployment of nuclear weapons by the nuclear powers, but also the spread of such weapons to additional powers. Unless both are stopped we shall

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be faced with appalling dangers of the acquisition of nuclear weapons not only by governments but also by criminal elements.

Our times, however, are also characterised by positive changes in the international situation, including the advance of more and more peoples toward the achievement of their goal of national liberation and independence. In particular, the changing situation is accompanied by political relaxation, especially between the Soviet Union and the United States. Advantage must be taken of the opportunities provided by the developing detente to make decisive progress toward the prevention of nuclear war and the exclusion of wars in general between states and towards the ending of the arms race, leading to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. A continuing arms race is inconsistent with the process of detente.

When we speak of ending the arms race we speak not only of the nuclear powers but of all countries in the world. All of them have a vital interest in utilising human and material resources for the betterment of the conditions of human life and not for its destruction.

The agreements on limiting strategic armaments on the basis of the principle of equal security as well as the other international treaties and conventions, while important, are only the first step towards disarmament and the exorcising of the spectre of nuclear war. They must be used as the launching pad for other more effective and meaningful measures in the field of quantitative reductions and qualitative limitations. The world cannot be secure while the arms race continues.

Scientific workers cannot remain indifferent to the use being made of their work. Today, as never before, the moral duty of scientific workers, their responsibility before mankind, demands the prevention of the further use of their work for destructive purposes.

We call on scientific workers of all countries and their organisations to use all their influence to ensure the end of the arms race and the beginning of an era of real disarmament and a secure peace.

Advantage should be taken of the ending of the arms race to transform the countries of the developing world, to alleviate the poverty of their peoples and facilitate their path to development.

By uniting their efforts scientific workers can do much to prevent a return to the era of the cold war, to facilitate the development of detente and the growth of trust and co-operation in relations between all states, to help achieve a cessation of the arms race and progress toward the goal of general and complete disarmament.

The full text of the main papers and reports of the Symposium will be published in the next issue of *Scientific World*, the official organ of the WFSW, to appear in October 1975. Copies may be obtained by request from Mr John Dutton, Editor, *Scientific World*, 40 Goodge Street, London, W1P 1FH (price 50p).

Full time students will be interested in the special concession on *Labour Monthly* subscription rates. See inside back cover for details and subscription form.

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Document of the Day

INDIAN NATIONAL EMERGENCY

(The following is the full text of the first part of the resolution on 'National Emergency and our Tasks' adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which concluded its three-day meeting in Ajoy Bhavan, New Delhi, on July 2, 1975—Ed. *LM)*

THE drive for power by the right-reactionary, neo-colonialist and counter-revolutionary forces was stepped up following the Allahabad High Court judgment. The granting of a stay and the pending appeal to the Supreme Court did not in the least come in the way of these forces stridently demanding the immediate resignation of the Prime Minister, an objective for which they had been striving for so many months past as the most important preliminary step to install a fascist type of dictatorship in our country.

The failure of the JP*-led movement in Bihar, as well as the efforts to spread it on an all-India scale, only made these forces more desperate. They began to turn more and more to tactics of individual and squad terrorism, to well-planned conspiracies of sabotage, violence and arson, so as to create conditions of chaos and anarchy. In particular, they wished to create such conditions in the nation's capital. This was the significance of the preparations they were making for the so-called '*satyagraha*'† movement due to start on June 29. More and more frequent and open appeals began to be made to the police and armed forces to disobey the orders of the democratically elected government. The monopoly press also stepped up its offensive.

The judgment of Supreme Court Justice Krishna Aiyer, though it gave Smt Indira Gandhi full right to continue as Prime Minister, was followed by the public unfolding of the conspiracy, and the plotters became particularly desperate.

The entire monopoly press editorially demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister despite the clear stand of the Supreme Court judgment on this score. Jayaprakash Narayan at his public meeting on June 25 came out in the most unabashed dictatorial manner, threatening those in the armed forces and government services who would remain loyal with 'punishment'. He demanded that the present Supreme Court Chief Justice should not hear the Prime

* J. P. Narayan.

† 'Civil disobedience'.

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Minister's appeal since he was 'her appointee'. He also issued an open call to prevent at any cost the operation of the All-India Radio and Television Services.

The plan of the reactionary parties and fascist organisations headed by Jayaprakash Narayan was to use the cover of the so-called *satyagraha* to paralyse life in the nation's capital and create such a situation that the proper atmosphere could be created for the capture of power. Serious efforts were being made to subvert the loyalty of the armed forces of our country.

Side by side, the pro-JP elements in the ruling party were instigated to step up their activities. Not only did Shri Chandrasekhar and his friends openly entertain JP, they also intensified their campaign among Congress MPs to join hands with the JP-led forces outside. The plan was worked out to 'request' the Prime Minister to resign 'temporarily', at the same time as the public campaign of arson, sabotage, assassination and violence would be in full swing.

Various other types of suspicious gatherings began to get more and more frequent in Delhi in which different kinds of political leaders and foreign imperialist agencies began to work out the details of a ramified conspiracy. The CIA was master-minding the entire operations. They were prepared to use any weapon, including communal riots.

The key role in all this was assigned to the Jana Sangh and the RSS. They were to provide the muscle and the organisation to push through the plot.

It became evident that the right-reactionary, neo-colonialist and counter-revolutionary forces were using all the rights and liberties of the parliamentary democratic set-up in order to destroy the freedom of our country and its secular democratic system itself.

Counter-revolutionary forces were clearly poised for a decisive attack, for the final push to power.

The present offensive of right reaction inside the country fully corresponds to the policy of de-stabilisation which US imperialism and the CIA have set as their goals in respect to all regimes in the Third World, pursuing the policies of anti-imperialism, non-alignment, peace and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Stricken with the severest political and economic crisis and driven desperate by their rout in Indo-China, their set-backs in the Arab world and the further advance of the revolutionary and democratic movements in Western Europe, Africa and Latin America, US imperialism has stepped up its neo-colonialist attacks on the south

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Asian region. India is the main target of this attack today in this region. The lifting of the arms embargo on Pakistan, the decision to convert Diego Garcia in the Indian ocean into a nuclear military base, the pumping of massive arms into the Gulf area states, are all manifestations of this policy.

The activities of the US multinational corporations and of the CIA are being intensified inside our country.

The present right-reactionary offensive inside the country is synchronised with the new attacks against our national sovereignty and freedom coming from US imperialism.

It is significant that the press and propaganda organs in Maoist China have in the recent period played up the Allahabad High Court judgment and the demand of the right-reactionary forces for the immediate ouster of the Prime Minister. Maoist China has also in the recent period openly stepped up its anti-Soviet and anti-India campaign as well as its full support to 'US military and naval presence' in the south Asian region. Its subversive activities on the sensitive north-eastern borders of India have been intensified. Simultaneously, Naxalite groups inside India have stepped up their policy of collaboration in the JP-led movement.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the warm fraternal support being extended to the left and democratic forces in India and to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by the Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic, Vietnam, Yugoslavia and other countries of the socialist and non-aligned camps at this crucial hour of struggle against the danger of a fascist take-over. In sharp contrast to this has come the reaction from the imperialist press organs of the US and UK, a significant fact.

Bearing all these facts in mind, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is of the firm opinion that the swift and stern measures taken by the Prime Minister and the government of India against the right-reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces were necessary and justified. Any weakness displayed at this critical moment would have been fatal. Any waiting for the campaign of anarchy to unfold further would have been disastrous. A pre-emptive blow had to be struck against these anti-national and anti-democratic forces. They alone bear the full responsibility for the serious situation that has developed.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India would, however, emphatically state that these stern administrative actions have to be followed up by equally stringent and energetic measures which would curb and weaken the socio-economic

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base of the right-reactionary forces. Policies and measures need to be immediately adopted and implemented against the neo-colonialists, monopolists, landlords, hoarders and speculators. They must match the administrative and political blow that has been struck against right reaction. Immediate relief has to be provided for our vast suffering toiling people, in the first place, by holding and bringing down prices. Everything possible has to be done to see that the bureaucracy and the well-entrenched supporters of these anti-national and anti-democratic forces do not use the emergency to restrict the rights and liberties of the working people and other democratic forces or democratic activity.

Effective steps have to be urgently taken to weed out, from key positions in the state apparatus, officials in league with the right-reactionary forces and imperialist agencies. Emergency powers are taken advantage of by the monopolists and other anti-social exploiters, as well as the bureaucrats, to strengthen their grip on the economic life and administration of the country. This must not be allowed to happen. After all, the battle our people are fighting is one against all enemies of democracy and for strengthening our democratic set-up and institutions. Under no circumstances must the emergency be used against the legitimate democratic agitations and movements of the working people. This warning is particularly necessary in view of the fact that in the past such powers have been grossly misused.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPI welcomes the immediate economic measures in the interests of the people announced by the Prime Minister and emphasises that not only must these be effectively implemented, but they must be followed up by more basic measures against the monopolists, landlords and foreign multinationals. The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of all Party units and members to the cardinal fact that an entirely new phase has opened in the post-independence history of our country. The crisis of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which is an integral and important part of the fiasco of the capitalist path of development, can only be resolved by a radical renovation of the processes of parliamentary democracy in order to make it a more effective instrument in the fight against right reaction and for basic socio-economic transformations. It is imperative to thus strengthen the political and class content of the system in favour of the working people. Our democratic system has to acquire new dimensions in which the decisive element would be the ever-increasing participation of the working class, peasantry, all working people and democratic sections in the shaping and implementation of policy and decisions.

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The recent developments inside the country signify that political differentiation and conflict inside the Indian bourgeoisie has reached a new stage, unprecedented since Indian independence. This stage is characterised by the fact that those representing the anti-imperialist democratic sections of the bourgeoisie have been forced into using the repressive organs of state power against those representing the pro-imperialist and most reactionary, pro-monopoly, pro-landlord, anti-Communist sections. This situation opens up the most favourable possibilities for strengthening the united front of the working class, peasantry and other toiling sections with the anti-imperialist democratic national bourgeoisie in common struggle against right reaction, and for moving this section of the bourgeoisie into more radical socio-economic positions in the very interests of this common struggle. This is the process through which progressive shifts in state power can be brought about in a national-democratic direction.

BOOKS

Mozambique: Memoirs of a Revolution

John Paul

Penguin, 232 pp, 80p

WHEN FRELIMO held its second and crucial policy congress in the woods of northern Niassa district of Mozambique during July 1968, the chairman of the first session, who was also the senior political delegate of the district and as such the congress host, launched his opening speech in English. This was not a gesture to the only European present, who happened to be English, but, as he explained, 'because I refuse to speak Portuguese I shall welcome you in English, which most of you understand, before continuing in Nyanja, which many of you do not.' I asked him afterwards how it came about that he spoke English so well, although he was a Mozambican of the north where English is not a *lingua franca*. 'I learned,' he said, 'at the English mission on the lake.'

Mr Paul would have been understandably pleased. As an Anglican missionary he went to the headquarters of that mission on the lake, at Mussumba, about a hundred miles south of the Tanzanian frontier, early in 1957, and stayed there almost continuously until early in 1970. Now those were precisely the years of early organisation and then of early armed struggle by Mozambican patriots of all opinions, whether reformist or revolutionary, of one religion or another, including *'ceux qui croyaient en Dieu, et ceux qui ne croyaient pas'*: the years of preparation out of which there came a united movement which was also, after that congress of 1968, a revolutionary movement. Mr Paul's whole mission area, and far beyond it, became an area of warfare between Frelimo and the Portuguese army almost as soon as the armed struggle had been launched in September 1964, although it was not until the latter part of 1965 that Mr Paul could become directly aware of this.

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'It must have been about August 12, 1965, that a village youth came to me with a note: "We have mined the roads to Metangula and Maniamba. Please do not use them." It was signed by the *Chefe do Base* (of Frelimo). . . .'

Thereafter the Mussumba mission had many contacts with Frelimo fighting units and political workers, and Mr Paul, having acquired a due contempt for Portuguese methods of colonial rule and behaviour, was eventually able to develop his immediate mission area into a sort of 'neutral zone' where villagers could find protection from Portuguese bombing and other forms of repressive terror; and the men of Frelimo, well understanding the importance of this educational mission to the people of the locality, and clearly appreciating the honesty and courage of the missionary, did all they could to protect that little zone of comparative safety. So this book is a very useful footnote to the history of the liberation of Mozambique, and will be all the more convincing for the still unconverted because its author is so evidently a man of completely 'unpolitical' opinions. For those who need no convincing of the justice of Frelimo's cause, the book will reinforce an admiration for Frelimo's political maturity and general good sense.

The converted may also think, of course, that the footnote comes a little late with its condemnation of Portuguese colonial rule. Every man's conscience is his own, and Mr Paul clearly believed (and believes) that he had a moral duty to keep public silence so long as Africans connected with his mission could have suffered by his speaking out. Perhaps: and yet one wonders how much longer the great washed masses of the British establishment would have taken to believe even a small measure of the atrociousness of Portugual's wars in Africa if the White Fathers had not spoken out, or if the Spanish priests who revealed the Wiriyamu massacres had not conveyed their information to the *Times*?

As it was, for Mr Paul, no massacres as terrible as those occurred in the region of the Mussumba mission; and, in any case, the principled Christian and the principled atheist appear seldom able to agree upon the priorities of moral imperative. It will be better to thank Mr Paul for giving us his moving and illuminating story now. It is still a story that very much needed to be told, and one that will long remain very well worth reading.

BASIL DAVIDSON

Rich Against Poor:
The Reality of Aid
C. R. Hensman
Penguin, 294 pp, 90p

IN A DETAILED ANALYSIS of the causes of under-development and the problems facing the 'Third World', this book shows quite clearly how backward class elements within 'under-developed' countries work to maintain their backwardness and hence the poverty of most of the people, apart from a privileged *élite*. A small ruling class can have a vested interest in maintaining forces of 'anti-development', even to the point of collaborating with ruling circles in advanced capitalist countries: witness Vietnam and Chile. Indeed, the author indicates how an 'advanced' nation can itself become under-developed if these anti-development forces are allowed to operate. Observing the problems of Britain today the lesson to be learned is clear.

GREG DOUGLAS

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BOSS: The First Five Years

International Defence & Aid Fund, 40 pp, 25p

IF SOUTH AFRICA'S Bureau for State Security (BOSS) is the counterpart of America's CIA, the security laws under which it operates make it highly unlikely that we shall ever learn as much of its ramifications and activities as current enquiries are disclosing about the CIA. South Africa's Official Secrets Act makes it an offence to disclose any information relating to security or the affairs of BOSS itself; and even in a court action the Minister of Justice can prevent evidence being led which in his opinion could prejudicially affect the security of the state.

As much as is known of the workings of BOSS has been gathered together in this pamphlet, an updated and expanded version of an earlier pamphlet issued by International Defence and Aid, and it makes a frightening story. BOSS is not merely an organ to protect the security of the state; it is an indispensable weapon to maintain white supremacy and the hegemony of the ruling Nationalist Party. Its head, General H. J. van den Bergh, who, like Prime Minister Vorster himself, was interned during the second world war because of his pro-Nazi activities, is now regarded as the second most powerful figure in the Nationalist Party hierarchy. He accompanies Vorster on his missions to promote 'dialogue' with such of the independent states of black Africa as will receive them, joins in the discussions and briefs his hosts on what he conceives to be the threat to the 'free' world presented by international communism and its alleged agents in South Africa—the national liberation movements.

BOSS does not confine itself to the collection and dissemination of security information. It is an organ of intimidation and terror at home and, like the CIA, 'it appears that BOSS regards national boundaries as mere formalities in its pursuit of "subversives" and "enemies", and . . . it does not draw the line at direct intervention in foreign countries' domestic affairs.' It has a large and active mission in Britain which has already indulged in a number of 'dirty tricks' against South African exiles. It has organised the kidnapping and murder of African resistance leaders in Zambia, Botswana and neighbouring territories.

It is to be hoped that the evidence

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Planning Cities, W. Houghton-Evans. Lawrence & Wishart, 204 pp, £7.

Biographical Dictionary of American Labor Leaders, edited by Gary M. Fink and Milton Cantor. Greenwood Press, 560 pp, £11.

Marxism and the Theory of Praxis, John Hoffman. Lawrence & Wishart, 240 pp, £4.

The Optimal International Division of Labour, Bohuslav Herman. ILO, 156 pp, £3.20.

Marxian and Post-Marxian Political Economy, Arun Bose. Penguin, 330 pp, £1.60.

Industrial Relations and the Wider Society, edited by B. Barrett, E. Rhodes and J. Beishon. Collier-Macmillan, 466 pp, £4.50.

The Future of British Leyland and the Motor Industry. Labour Research Department, 16 pp, 18p.

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disclosed in this pamphlet will move the British labour movement to take action to secure the expulsion from this country of the agents of an organisation as odious in its aims and as vicious in its methods as the PIDE or the Gestapo.

BRIAN BUNTING

Economics of Racism USA
Victor Perlo
International Publishers (Central Books), 280 pp, £2.25

VICTOR PERLO, the leading American Marxist political economist, states in his introduction to his latest volume that in the US 'economic discrimination against blacks is the nation's number one economic problem.' The great civil rights struggle of the 1960s failed to obtain its full goals and has tended to slip backwards chiefly because it was a political struggle that was not balanced by an equally strong fight for economic equality. As Mr Perlo points out with a mass of factual evidence, the roots of black inequality lie deep in economic factors.

Included in the illuminating information that he presents are these facts: in 1970, 81 per cent of black people live in urban areas as compared with 72 per cent of whites (a rather startling figure considering that blacks less than half a century ago were still largely confined to an agricultural role); blacks in the US are overwhelmingly 'a people of workers', 96 per cent of the gainfully employed among them being wage or salary workers compared with 89 per cent of gainfully employed 'white Anglo' people, while blacks have the smallest proportion of petty bourgeoisie of any national or racial group in the US; the *per capita* income of blacks is one-half that of whites, while black unemployment is double that of whites. These factors, together with a variety of others cited by Mr Perlo, indicate the potential working class base of mass struggle among US blacks.

In a chapter entitled 'Blaming the Victims', the author dissects current theories of the alleged genetic and cultural inferiority of blacks which he calls 'criminal theories, disseminated with criminal intent, and their toleration can have disastrous results.' Mr Perlo could well be writing about present-day controversy in Britain.

There are, in fact, many parallels and identical situations in the experiences of blacks in the US and Britain, making Mr Perlo's study as useful to concerned Britons as it is to concerned Americans.

WILLIAM POMEROY

Shelley's Socialism
Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling
Journeyman Press, 26 pp, 60p

SHELLEY'S SOCIALISM was privately printed in 1888. Nearly sixty years later, Leslie Preger in Manchester reprinted it with a preface by Frank Allaun MP. Now Journeyman Press have made it available once more. It is well worth reading, for the Avelings, Shelley lovers, select from Shelley's writings, in prose and in poetry, writings to show that Shelley was a socialist, almost a modern socialist in his basic views on a wide range of issues, and the warm-hearted case they make has a value and an interest of its own. Socialists should read this little book at a period when fashionable pundits have been and are engaged in a continuing devaluation of the work of Shelley because he was a revolutionary.

B. A.

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Culture and Socialist Democracy
György Aczél
Lawrence & Wishart, 268 pp, £1.25
Culture and Socialist Democracy consists of a number of speeches and reports by the Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, together with a specially written preface by him. The fact that these speeches and reports all arose from the need to tackle specific problems that demanded a solution in Hungary over the past few years does not diminish their significance for the British reader—rather the opposite in fact. As György Aczél puts it in his preface, the contradictions that arise concerning the place and role of culture in the building of socialism can only be recognised and mastered through active involvement. Thus although, for example, he devotes considerable attention to the mistakes of the 'era of the personality cult', he has no time for those who feel that they can criticise the mistakes of the past from the vantage point of a purity based on a dedicated refusal to attempt the practical solution of any problems. Aczél takes a principled stand against dogmatic sectarianism and revisionism, seeing both as easy solutions which can be traced to a lack of confidence in the people.

On the mistakes of the past he argues that 'the declaration of the monopoly position of Marxist ideology was a mistake because it led to illusions, self-deception and ideological disarmament. But it was also a mistake because it necessarily entailed the application of administrative means in a sphere where this had no place. . . . We hold ourselves to the fundamental principle that we will reply to words with words, to debate with debate, to thought with thought, to view with view.'

Thus he points out that, although non-Marxist works of art of value are produced and published in Hungary, there is no 'ideological peaceful co-existence', and shortcomings in such works are attacked by Marxists—but attacked ideologically and not administratively. In this spirit he devotes some attention to the cultural symptoms of decadence in the West, offering an impressive summary of their major characteristics, which he relates to the loss of historical function experienced by the bourgeois. However, he stresses that once again easy generalisations should be avoided; there is a difference between a poem which expresses the personal frustration and unhappiness of the poet, and one which gives this a more negative ideological significance.

Those who argue that Marxism may be a valid and useful approach to large cultural developments but not to individual works of art would do well to ponder the following passage: 'What could be more mistaken than to assume that such achievements of artistic development as, for example, the internal monologue, the free handling of time, or a more daring and complex image

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formation, are prerogatives of bourgeois literature, and socialist art may not avail itself of them? I repeat not a single stylistic device is independent of artistic content. For this reason no abstract decision can be made about them, independently of the work.'

Those readers who are involved in education in this country will probably be struck, as I was, with the way another of Aczél's comments hits the nail on the head. He suggests that the most essential contradiction of the bourgeois school 'is the fact that the bourgeois state administration and economy require experts in large numbers who are capable of accomplishing every "specialised" detailed task at a high standard, but who . . . are not capable of viewing social processes as a whole.'

After an Easter spent trying to plough through a couple of extremely turgid books on literary criticism written by two such experts, Aczél's book came as a breath of fresh air—which is not to suggest that it is in any way slight. This is a book that everyone who is concerned with questions of culture and socialist democracy should read, and the publishers are to be congratulated on providing us with an English translation of these important texts. I leave the last word to the author: 'Many, and this was often our mistake, were once prone to believe that if we fight well and work well, then before long we will arrive in the earthly paradise. Today we know: in the course of the struggle to change the world, problems which are resolved are constantly followed by new ones. We know there will be no eternal rest, no heavenly idyll, no final completion. Therefore, our ideal is the conscious, acting man who, under new circumstances, reaching a constantly higher level, fights to transform reality.'

JEREMY HAWTHORNE

TACKLE YOUR LOCAL LIBRARY

ONE of the more horrifying experiences in the life of the *LM* office occurred at the beginning of this year when, due to the landlord's neglect of a water tank in our roof space, we had panic telephone calls in the middle of the night to say the whole thing was overflowing through our office and into accommodation below. The flood and an efficient salvage operation were followed by months of waiting while walls and ceilings were allowed to dry out before redecoration could proceed.

We hope the discomfort suffered by our staff did not have too obvious an effect on the production standards of the journal, or on the precision of which we are usually so proud in our accounts and subscription departments. One hold-up was unavoidable though. The great response we had in recent years to our appeals for the return of old issues of *LM* meant that by January our binders had

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a large batch of the older volumes in hand for binding. The job was completed and delivered to us during that chaotic time when the drying out was in progress. With storage space minimised, we were in no state to unpack the parcels of these newly bound volumes.

Things are now looking up, at least in this respect. The volumes have been sorted, checked and added to our stock; outstanding orders have been fulfilled. We can now ask for some help from readers who may be able to encourage their nearest reference library to add *LM* to their list of titles or to that of a library in the district. In some cases this is simply a matter of completing an existing partial set of the journal. By insisting on complete sets in the public reference libraries, and by resisting the temptation to go to a specialist library without first consulting the public library, we can help to build up a better service for all of us in the future.

As we warned in our last issue, our finances are in no happy position. We shall have to envisage a price increase for *LM*, but we are delaying it while we possibly can. Any sales of bound volumes would, therefore, be particularly welcome to tide us over a very difficult period. Our fund figures show too that the donations which reached us in July went down to a real danger level: we hope readers will bring this serious drop to the attention of friends of the journal who may be making full use of *LM* in their trade union work without as yet raising donations for our fund. The July total was:

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